

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BUCAR 01134 221555Z
ACTION EUR-12

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R 221430Z FEB 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1685
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
A/AMEMBASSY BERLINE JQISP
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION BERLIN
USMISSION NATO
AMCONSUL MUNICH

UNCLAS BUCHAREST 1134

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, CSCE, SHUM, RO
SUBJECT: TEXT OF GOMA GUTTER TO ROMANIAN PRESIDENT

REF: BUCAR 1105, BUCHAREST 1069, BUCHAREST 973

THREE FOLLOWS TEXT OF GOMA LETTER TO PRESIDENT
CEAUSescu (BUCHAREST 973), WHICH TO OUR KNOWLEDGE
HAS NOT YET BEEN PUBLISHED BY WESTERN MEDIA:

TO MR. NICOLAE CEAUSescu
ROYAL PALACE
BUCHAREST

MR. CEAUSECSCU
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I ADDRESS MYSELF TO YOU IN DESPAIR. YOU ARE MY
LAST HOPE. HERE IS THE PROBLEM:
SINCE ONE MONTH, WHEN "CHARTER 77" WAS PUBLISHED
AT PRAGUE, MY CALM HAS LEFT ME AND I AM PERSUADED
THAT YOU TOO ARE NOT AT EASE ANY MORE. HERE, I TOLD
MYSELF, THE VOICE OF REASON MAKES ITSELF HEARD:

RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE, WHO LOVE THEIR COUNTRY, REQUEST NOT THE OVERTHROW OF THE GOVERNMENT AS NON-BELIEVING MALICIOUS PEOPLE, BUT THE APPLICATION OF EXISTING LAWS, INTERNAL LAWS AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS SIGNED, CCEPTED BY THEIR GOVERNMENT. AND, BECAUSE SO MANY PEOPLE SIGNED THIS REQUEST, THIS LOGICALLY MEANS THAT THEY DO NOT HAVE WHAT THES ARE ASKING FOR OTHERWISE THEY WOULDN'T ASK IT. AND WHY DON'T THEY HAVE WHAT THEY ASK FOR? THE ANSWER IS SIMPLE: BECAUSE CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS OCCUPIED BY FOREIGN TROOPS WHICH ENFORCE A FOREIGN POLICY ON OCCUPIED TERRITORY; CITIZENS DO NOT ENJOY THE RIGHTS SPECIFIED BY THE HUMAN RIGHTS CHARTER OR BY THE FINAL ACT OF THE HELSINKIN CONFERENCE.

THE GRIEVANCES RAISED BY THE SIGNATORIES TO "CHARTER 77" WERE PROVOKED BY REAL, SERIOUS CAUSES; AND WHAT IS MORE REAL, MORE SERIOUS, THAN THE HUMAN BEING; THIS IS PROVED BY THE COMPOSITION OF THE GROUP WHICH TOOK THIS INITIATIVE; NO TRACE OF CAPITALISM, GREAT LANDOWNER OR FASCIST PARTY WHATEVER; NO, ALL THOSE WHO DRAFTED "CHARTER 77" ARE SOCIALIST MILITANTS, FIRST-RATE "ACTIVISTS", EVEN MEMBERS IN THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT OF SMIRKOVSKY, PEOPLE WHO HAVE WISHED AND WISH NOW FOR A COUNTRY A JUST, DEMOCRATIC ORDER.

MR. CEAUSESCU,

SINCE ONE MONT WHEN "CHARTER 77" WAS PUBLISHED AT PRAGUE, I HAVE TRIED TO CONVINCE MY ACQUAINTANCES UNCLASSIFIED

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THAT THEY SHOULD ALLY THEMSELVES WITH THE ACTION OF THE CZECHS AND THE SLOVAKS, HOWEVER WITHOUT SUCCESS. SOME REFUSED HONESTLY ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THIS, IE THE EXPRESSION OF SOLIDARITY, COMES UNDER THIS OR THAT ARTICLE OF THE PENAL CODE; OTHERS DID NOT KNOW THE ARTICLE BUT KNEW THE INSIDE OF THE STATE SECURITY BUILDING; OTHERS, THE MOST COURAGEOUS ONES, STATED THEY WERE WILLING TO SIGN A LETTER OF SOLIDARITY BUT WITH AN UNREADABLE SIGNATURE; STILL OTHERS, OFFERED TOWAIT FOR SOME TIME TO SEE THE RESULTS AT THE CONVENIENT TIME: IF THE ACTION OF THE CHARTISTS IS SUCCESSFUL MAYBE WE SHALL HAVE SOME CRUMBS FROM THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS; IF NOT, NO HARM IS DONE* WE WON'T HAVE CONQUESTS BUT NEITHER WILL WE HAVE THE CONSEQUENCES SUFFERED BY THE CZECHS.

PLEASE BELIEVE ME WHEN I TELL YOU THAT THE ATTITUDE OF MY FELLOW CITIZENS SADDENED ME: ALL OUR NEIGHBORS ARE RESTLESS, REQUEST THE RIGHTS DUE TO THEM, EVEN THE

RUSSIANS (WHOM WE CERTAINLY KNOW WELL) CRY OUT LOUDLY THAT THEY ARE NOT FREE, THAT THEIR RIGHTS ARE TRODDEN UPON. ONLY WE, THE ROMANIANS, STAY SILENT AND WAIT TO HAVE EVERYTHING OFFERED ON A PLATTER. OUR ROMANIANS THINK ONLY ABOUT WHAT THEY WILL LOSE IF THE SECURITATE ARE INFORMED; THEY DO NOT THINK OF WHAT THEY SHALL GAIN DESPITE THE SECURITATE. ONE OF MY ACQUAINTANCES, A PURE-BED....ESCU, OFFENDED ME MORTALLY, AND NOT ME ALONE. DO YOU KNOW WHAT HE TOLD ME? HE SAID: "SIR, YOU AGITATE YOURSELF IN A CERTAIN MANNER AND YOU WISH TO DO SOME THINGS WHICH ARE NOT CHARACTERISTIC TO ROMANIANS--THEREFORE YOU ARE NOT ROMANIAN--" "HOW COME" SAID I, OFFENDED FOR MY "FLAG". IT'S TRUE, MY PATERNAL GRANDFATHER WAS MACDEONIA (GOMA), MY MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER WAS GREEK (CUZA); IT IS ALSO TRUE THAT I HAVE A LITTLE POLISH BLOOD COMING FROM MY PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER, BUT WHAT IS BLOOD THAT CANNOT BE CHANGED TO UNCLASSIFIED

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WATER? WHAT COUNTS IS THAT I FEEL MYSELF ROMANIAN. BECAUSE I WAS BORN IN ROMANIA (IN THE DISTRICT OF ORHEI), BECAUSE MY MOTHER LANGUAGE IS ROMANIAN, BECAUSE MY MATERNAL GRANFATHER WAS CALLED POPESCU AND BECAUSE (AND WITH THIS I SHUT MY MOUTH), BECUASE MY PRISONS WERE HERE, ON AND BELOW THE EARTH OF MY BELOVED MOTHERLAND," "VERY WELL, VERY WELL, LET'S SAY YOU ARE A ROMANIAN", CONCEDED....ESCU, "BUT YOU BEHAVE YOURSELF LIKE A NON-ROMANIAN." WELL, I BECAME FURIOUS AND TOLD HIM OUTRIGHT: "IS THAT SO? AND WHAT ABOUT CEAUSESCU? IS HE TOO NOT ROMANIAN? BUT NO HE IS VERY ROMANIAN, ALTHOUGH HE WENT TO PRAGUE ON AUGUST 15, 1968 TO ASSURE DUBCEK ABOUT THE SOLIDARITY OF THE ROMANIANS. AND, ALTHOUGH ROMANIAN, HE CONDEMNED FROM HIS BALCONY, THE INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY THE WARSAW PACT TROOPS AND SAID THAT WHAT THOSE TROOPS DID , IS A GREATSHAME*" THAT'S WHAT I TOLD HIM; SAID HE: "WHY DON'T YOU ASK FROM CEAUSESCU WHAT YOU ASK FROM ME: A SIGNATURE ON THE LETTER OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE CZECHS*"

MR. CEAUSESCU,

IN UNDERSTAND THAT IT WOULD NOT BE FITTING THAT YOUR HONORED SIGNATURE APPEAR BESIDE THE SIGNATURE OF A SIMPLE CITIZEN, THE MORE SO THAT OF A NON-TALENTED WRITER. AND, EVEN IF THIS MIRACLE OCCURED, WHAT CAN ONE DO WITH TWO SIGNATURE? MY WIFE COULD SIGN TOO, BUT THE SITUATION WOULD NOT CHANGE: IF WE FOUND 30 HUNGARIANS TO KEEP A JUST PROPORTION 90 ROMANIAN SIGNATURES WOULD BE NEEDED. LET US SAY 5.

OR AT LEAST 10. BUT WHERE TO FIND THEM? I HAVE
ALREADY TOLD YOU: ROMANIANS FEAR THE SECURITATE.
THEREFORE IN ROMANIA, THERE ARE ONLY TWO PEOPLE WHO
ARE NOT AFRIAD OF THE SECURITATE: YOU AND I? BUT, AS
I'VE ALREADY TOLD YOU, WITH TWO SIGNATURE...
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THERE IS, HOWEVER, A SOLUTION: INDIVIDUAL
SOLIDARITY. I ALRADY SENT A LETTER UNDER MY
OWN SIGNATURE. BUT MY GESTURE WOULD NO DIS-
PERSE THE FEAR OF OUR FELLOW-CITIZENS TO JOIN
THOSE WHO ASK FOR RIGHTS, LASTLY ALSO FOR US.
THE SITUATION WOULD BE COMPLETELY DIFFERENT IF
YOU WOULD SEND A STATEMENT TO SUPPORT "CHARTER
77. I AM FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT MILLIONS OF
ROMANIANS WOULD FOLLOW YOU AND EXPRESS THEIR
SOLIDARY WITH THE CZECHS AND THE SLOVAKS. BY
DOING THIS, YOU WOULD PROVIDE THAT YOU ARE CON-
SISTENT WITH YOUR 1968 STATEMENTS, YOU WOULD
DEMONSTRATE THAT YOU FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM,
FOR DEMOCRACY, FOR MANKIND. THIS, FIRST OF ALL.
SECONDLY ROMANIA WOULD BE ABLE TO KEEP HER HEAD
HIGH WHEN JOINING THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE.

HOPEFULLY YOURS,

PAUL ROMA
BUCHAREST, FEBRUARY 1977.
BARNES

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Message Attributes

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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
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Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
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Drafter: n/a
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